

# VANGUARD

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## NEITHER FRANCO NOR STALIN FOR SPAIN

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# CALENDAR OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

**A** CORRESPONDENT in Cuba informs us of the following: "The Communist Party, is recruiting in Cuba, to send to Spain, gangster elements formerly in the service of Machado. I want to give some examples: Some time ago they sent over 27 ex-officers of the old army who have nothing in common with the workers and are nothing but mercenaries, formerly in the service of Machado. They are travelling second class which costs over 200 pesos for each one, plus large amounts that were given to their families. On its last trip the Mexique took an expedition of these fake militia (with a few exceptions) among whom went the three Alvarez brothers, former Machado gunmen who were active in breaking the Bahia strike. On the 29th of the month... 'Sargento-del Toro' sails too, as a Communist militiaman. He is a fullfledged assassin of the Machado days, bodyguard of the President of the Senate in that period. He was one of those who helped massacre workers in a demonstration here on August 27th."

The Spanish Communist Party will have need of their gangsters! These are the type of men they need to carry out their present policy of terrorism against the revolutionary vanguard in Spain.

The body of Andres Nin, revolutionary leader of the P.O.U.M., has been found... lynched... mutilated. Because he was outspoken in his criticism of Stalinism, the C.P. had sought to muzzle him, by throwing him in jail on a trumped-up charge of aiding the Fascists. They were prepared to have a little "Moscow Trial" all their own on Spanish soil, with forged documents, all ready for the Spanish equivalent of Vishinsky to use in the prosecution. Apparently, however, they did not dare risk putting him in the witness box... so he was "kidnapped" from his Stalinist jailers and lynched.

The list of honored dead grows larger: Nin now joins Berneri (he too fought Stalinism with every breath) as victims of the Spanish GPU.

The counter-revolution grows apace. A partial list of counter-revolutionary measures, reactionary deviations, (beginning with October 24, 1936) and the duplicity of the Stalinists are indicated by the following events.

October 24th: the Generality of Catalonia decrees compensation to former owners of collectivized industry held by workers.

December 12th: Catalanian Government reorganized without P.O.U.M. representation.

December 17th: Pravda urges that revolutionists be wiped out in Spain "with the same energy with which it has been conducted in the U.S.S.R."

January 7th: Councilors of Supplies in the Catalanian Generality dissolves workers supply committees of the C.N.T. and U.G.T.

January 8-12: "POUM", weekly paper of the P.O.U.M. in Madrid permanently suspended by the Madrid Defense Junta.

Catalonian Government incorporates repressive measures against workers control committees throughout the provinces into a series of 58 financial decrees.

February 3rd: Council of the Generality rules collectivization of the dairy industry illegal.

February 7th: Colonel Vllalba, reinstated in command by the government over the protests of the Anarchists who had arrested him as a reactionary. (He later betrayed the defense of Malaga.)

February 10th: Madrid Defense Junta seizes P.O.U.M. radio station in Madrid, suspends *El Combatiente Rojo*, the P.O.U.M. daily paper, and confiscates the presses.

February 15th: Valencia government order seizures of all arms from workers.

February 26th: Generality of Catalonia forbids a public meeting of C.N.T.-F.A.I.-P.O.U.M. in Tarragona.

February 27th: *Nosotros* F.A.I. publication of Valencia

suspended indefinitely for criticizing the Minister of War.

March 1st: Generality of Catalonia decrees the reorganization of the Department of Public Order abolishing the Workers Patrols and consolidating all armed power in the hands of the old reactionary police.

March 4th: Communist Colonel of the Karl Marx Division steals 12 tanks (destined for the Aragon Front) from the factory warehouse, using false papers, and hides them in the Voroshilov Barracks.

March 12th: Valencia government orders all workers parties and trade unions to collect arms from their members and surrender them within 48 hours.

March 15th: Series of assassinations of C.N.T. leaders in Albacete (headquarters of the International Brigade) and other cities in Castille. Imprisonment of Marot, C.N.T. leader, in Almeria.

March 15th: Sabotage of Aragon Front by Valencia Government becomes scandalous. Refusal of arms to Anarchist battalions fighting there.

March 26th: Basque Government seizes the presses of the CNT del Norte at Bilbao which is then given to the Basque Communist Party. The paper is suspended and the editorial staff as well as the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. arrested.

April 7th: National Republican Guards shoot tramway workers in Barcelona during a demonstration of Guard forces.

April 11th: Temporary suppression of CNT of Madrid and Castille Libre, both Anarchist papers.

April 17th: National Republican Guard begins forcible disarmament of workers throughout Catalonia. Carbineers sent to Puigcerda to take over the Customs from the Anarchists. Antonio Martin, anarchist mayor, shot up cold blood when he attempts to negotiate an agreement.

April 18th: Valencia suppresses Anarcho-Syndicalist *Nosotros*.

April (last two weeks): Assault Guards and National Republican Guards sent to Figueras and other towns to wrest police control from the workers' organizations.

May 1st: Workers forbidden to hold May Day demonstrations. In Valencia a joint meeting of Anarchist and P.O.U.M. Youth forbidden.

May 3rd: Assault Guards led by Communists attempt to take over Barcelona Telephone Exchange which the Anarchists had wrested from the Fascists and held since July 19th, with the resulting "uprising" that followed. Hundreds of workers killed and thousands wounded defending themselves from this provocative attack by Stalinist and bourgeois police.

May 3rd: Republican National Guard together with Communists attack and pillage peaceful village of Tortosa. Twenty C.N.T. workers tortured.

May 5th: Berneri and his co-worker Barbieri murdered in cold blood by P.S.U.C. members in Barcelona. Camillo Berneri was one of the most outstanding thinkers in the Anarchist movement. A former professor of philosophy in Italy, he had to flee from his native land when Mussolini took things over. When the revolution started in Spain he was one of the first to go to Spain to help in the anti-Fascist struggle, but was a most consistent critic of Stalinist counter-revolutionary policy. For this, he and Barbieri were "taken for a ride."

May 18th: Trade union representation forced out of Valencia cabinet by Stalinist pressure (they admit this themselves). Caballero government falls. Negrin's first act is to withdraw 75,000 fully equipped troops from Southern Madrid front thus preventing the offensive which might

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## SPAIN FACES THE FUTURE By SENEX

"ONE can hardly speak now of the Spanish revolution," writes the well-informed French journalist Robert Louzon, "it is the counter-revolution that is now dominating Spanish life." The Spanish working class, he adds, lost political power and is now facing a most determined drive upon its economic positions. The triumphing counter-revolution is gradually taking on a genuinely fascist character in virtue of the fact that the active, impelling force of this counter-revolution — the Communist Party — has been built during this year out of elements which by their social position and their former affiliations gravitate inevitably in the direction of fascism.

One does not have to accept in full this gloomy view of the present situation in Spain in order to realize that the Spanish revolution is now on the down grade and many of its commanding positions have been turned over to its sworn enemies. What accounts for this gradual forcing down of revolutionary elements to positions which makes them increasingly vulnerable to the attack of the fascist counter-revolution camouflaged by the protective coloring of the Communist Party? Was it the silent pressure of objective factors, of a worsening international situation, of military defeats, of insuperable economic difficulties that frustrated the revolution in its struggle against the enemies from within? Or was it also due, in some measure, at least, to wrong policies, lack of revolutionary daring, and false tactics employed by those who were placed from the very beginning of the revolution in the positions of guidance and control?

### ■ PROBLEMS OF ANARCHISTS STRATEGY HAVE TO BE FACED

There are still anarchists who shy away from the last question. Imbued with a deep sense of loyalty toward the revolutionary forces of Spain, being also deeply aware of the tragic situation in which the latter, that is the anarchists of that country, are finding themselves as a result of the lack of international support, they deprecate any attempt critically to evaluate the course of action pursued by the Spanish anarchists during the last year.

Now, they say, is not the time to question the correctness of the tactical line of the Spanish anarchists. Any discussion of that sort, casting reflection upon the anarchist movement of Spain, may weaken the international support so desperately needed at this critical hour.

It is clear, however, that considerations of that nature, well motivated as they may be, have no place in any revolutionary movement. The anarchists of Spain will be strengthened by an intelligent, questioning approach to the problems with which they have been faced and the tentative methods of solution worked out by the movement of Spain. And if any weakening of the anarchist positions is to be feared, it will come rather as a result of the uncritical attitude which tends to justify and accept every move made by the anarchists of Spain only on the ground that such a move was undertaken in response to some urgent reality.

### ■ NECESSITY OF ACCEPTING MILITARY AID FROM RUSSIA NOT SOLE DETERMINING FACTOR OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

As an example of such an uncritical attitude we have the attempt to simplify the entire question of responsibility for the gradual loss of power on the part of the revolutionary forces by reducing it to the lack of sufficient military strength and the resulting necessity of accepting aid from Russia.

There can be no question, we are told, of proper tactics under the circumstances facing the Spanish anarchists. Tactics are discussed whenever a choice is given between two or more solutions. The Spanish anarchists had no such choice. They had to accept the only road left for them — and that is collaboration with other forces, accepting aid and dictation from Russia. Any other road would spell certain ruin and the total annihilation of the Spanish revolutionary forces in Spain.

"In the month of April," writes one of the defenders of this position in the Spanish anarchist weekly, *Cultura Proletaria*, "Franco's army numbered 400,000 soldiers, formidably equipped with the most modern arms; thousands of machine guns,

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# Sacco and Vanzetti in Retrospect

By HARRY KELLY

AS THIS is being written it lacks a few weeks of ten years since Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti ended their seven year Calvary in the electric chair at Dedham jail in the state of Massachusetts for a crime they did not commit. The authorities who sent these men to their death knew that they were innocent of the crime for which they were executed but coolly and carefully blackened their characters by accusing them of robbery and murder. They knew it was impossible to electrocute men merely for their opinions so they took the easier way and framed them on the other charges and with a good "press" prejudiced people so it was a common thing in those days to hear men say, "Well, if they were not guilty of killing the paymaster they were guilty of other crimes. Anyway they were just a couple of wops."

Reading the letters of "the good shoemaker and poor fish-peddler" after all these years, one still asks the question, why? Why and how could men bring themselves to take the lives of men whose transparent sincerity and nobility of spirit shine through every line of their letters written during their long years of imprisonment.

The simplest and perhaps basic answer to such a question is that men are far, very far, from being really civilized; that life at best has become so cheap that it lacks even meaning; that talk of honor and of sacredness of law are mere phrases used as slogans to numb the minds of men into accepting things their reason would ordinarily rebel against. Statute law, being a human institution, would, even if all men were honest and disinterested, vary according to the interpretation placed upon it and certain injustices would follow. But when the laws themselves are forged by a ruling class for its own benefit it is a violation of all logic to contend or expect equal justice for all men, irrespective of their station in life. Ten men are killed in a strike in Chicago, seven of them shot in the back by the police, and a coroners' jury acquits the killers. To add irony to the murder, many of those who survived are to be tried for rioting. A group of high priced lawyers who for years had defended corporations against the general public are appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court and instantly they become sacred cows whom none dare touch. Nations which have spent years in building up a thing called International Law as a rule of conduct for civilized nations to live by, insult the intelligence of a ten-year-old when it comes to applying that law to the Spanish conflict. German aviators bomb fleeing men, women and children like rabbits at Guernica and representatives of other so-called

"civilized" nations sit with other Germans and discuss how to end the present Spanish war. These incidents and thousands of others like them are all one with the tragedy of Sacco and Vanzetti and show a brutal ruling class determined to control and exploit the lives of masses of men and women.

Men like Sacco and Vanzetti are really not men in the ordinary sense; they are symbols representing aspirations for a new and ideal society where men will do things for the joy of doing them and where planning and working for that vague entity called humanity will be the most important thing in life. No talk of investments, of race superiority, of the historic mission of this or that nation or class. They thought of man irrespective of his birthplace or his race. This is so far removed from the understanding of the common man that he either fears such individuals or thinks of them as men on the lunatic fringe. They were plain, simple, men, workingmen who loved people and loving them found joy in working for them and with them. They never thought that one day their names would be revered by large masses of men. They represent those rare individuals who, when fame comes to them, rise to the occasion and embody all the things associated with the ideal they advocate. Few people think of them in these harrowing days. Fortunately the verbatim record of the trial, from beginning to end, is preserved in five large volumes for the historian and scholar of the future to study and in studying not only to clear the names of these gallant men of the foul charge against them but to picture and pillory our society with its brutal and ignorant ruling class. When that time comes the youth of tomorrow will say with Sacco, "But remember always, Dante, in the play of happiness, don't use all for yourself only, but down yourself just one step, at your side and help the weak ones that cry for help, help the prosecuted and the victim, because they are your better friends; they are the comrades that fight and fall as your father and Bartolo fought and fell yesterday for the conquest of the joy of freedom for all and the poor workers. In this struggle of life you will find more love and you will be loved." And with Vanzetti, "if it had not been for these things, I might live out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding or man as we do now by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives — lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler — all! That last moment belongs to us — that agony is our triumph."



# ROMANTICISM AND NATIONALISM

By RUDOLPH ROCKER

[The following is an extract from Rudolf Rocker's masterful treatise "Nationalism and Culture" just published by Covici Friede. We will review this monument of inspired thinking in the next issue of the Vanguard - The Editors.]

ALL nationalism is reactionary in its nature, for it strives to enforce on the separate parts of the great human family a definite character according to a preconceived idea. In this respect, too, it shows the interrelationship of nationalistic ideology with the creed of every revealed religion. Nationalism creates artificial separations and partitions within that organic unity which finds its expression in the genus Man, while at the same time it strives for a fictitious unity sprung only from a wish-concept; and its advocates would like to tune all members of a definite human group to one note in order to distinguish it from other groups still more obviously. In this respect, so-called "cultural nationalism" does not differ at all from political nationalism, for whose political purposes as a rule it serves as a fig-leaf. The two cannot be spiritually separated; they merely represent two different aspects of the same endeavor.

Cultural-nationalism appears in its purest form when people are subjected to a foreign rule, and for this reason cannot pursue their own plans for political power. In this event, "national thought" prefers to busy itself with the culture-building activities of the people and tries to keep the national consciousness alive by recollections of vanished glory and past greatness. Such comparisons between a past which has already become legend and a slavish present make the people doubly sensitive to the injustice suffered; for nothing affects the spirit of man more powerfully than tradition. But if such groups of people succeed sooner or later in shaking off the foreign yoke and themselves appear as a national power, then the cultural phase of their efforts steps only too definitely into the background, giving place to the sober reality of their political objectives. In the recent history of the various national organisms in Europe created after the war are found telling witness for this.

In Germany, also, the national strivings both before and after the "wars of liberation" were strongly influenced by romanticism, whose advocates tried to make the traditions of a vanished age live again among the people and to make the past appear to them in a glorified light. When later, the last hopes which the German patriots had rested on liberation from the foreign yoke had burst like over-blown bubbles, their spirits sought refuge in the moonlit magic night and the fairy world of dreamy longing

conjured up for them by romanticism, in order to forget the gray reality of life and its shameful disappointments.

In culture-nationalism, as a rule, two distinct sentiments merge, which really have nothing in common: for home sentiment is not patriotism, is not love of the state, not love which has its roots in the abstract idea of the nation. It needs no labored explanation to prove that the spot of land on which a man has spent the years of his youth is deeply intergrown with his profoundest feeling. The impressions of childhood and early youth are the most permanent and have the most lasting effect upon his soul. Home is, so to speak, man's outer garment; he is most intimately acquainted with its every fold and seam. This home sentiment brings in later years some yearning after a past long buried under ruins; and it is this which enables the romantic to look so deeply within.

With so-called "national consciousness" this home sentiment has no relationship; although both are often thrown into the same pot and, after the manner of counterfeiters, given out as of the same value. In fact, true home sentiment is destroyed at its birth by "national consciousness," which always strives to regulate and force into a prescribed form every impression man receives from the inexhaustible variety of the homeland. This is the unavoidable result of those mechanical efforts at unification which are in reality only the aspirations of the nationalistic states.

The attempt to replace man's natural attachment to the home by a dutiful love of the state — a structure which owes its creation to all sorts of accidents and in which, with brutal force, elements have been welded together that have no necessary connection — is one of the most grotesque phenomena of our time. The so-called "national consciousness" is nothing but a belief propagated by considerations of political power which have replaced the religious fanaticism of past centuries and have today come to be the greatest obstacle to cultural development. The love of home has nothing in common with the veneration of an abstract patriotic concept. Love of home knows no "will to power"; it is free from that hollow and dangerous attitude of superiority to the neighbor which is one of the strongest characteristics of every kind of nationalism. Love of home does not engage in practical politics nor does it seek in any way to support the state. It is purely an inner feeling as freely manifested as man's enjoyment of nature, of which home is a part. When thus viewed, the home feeling compares with the governmentally ordered love of the nation as does a natural growth with an artificial substitute.



Let us go back to the statements of Kropotkin. What does the experience of the great imperialistic war tell us? It militates against the self-confident assertions of Kropotkin mentioned above. Kropotkin himself does not deny his mistake. "War".... says he, in the introduction (written by him in 1918) to his book "Fields, Factories and Workshops," "shows the world shortage of food products. The increase of consumption had hardly begun at the time of the war when the shortage of food products made itself felt. The United States, the 'granary of Europe'.... was compelled to limit at home the consumption of bread and meat in order to share the use of these foods with the allies." Was it only this that they were short of? Oh, no!! "The same thing occurred with raw material." The United States, because of its allies, was obliged to limit somewhat its consumption of products. It is readily understood that the allies limited theirs ever more so. Of Germany it is unnecessary to speak. From the very first days of the war she put the population on starvation rations. And Russia? Who doesn't know that during the revolution one was not very certain of a quarter of a pound of bread? Now a similar shortage is felt during the Spanish revolution.

What follows from this? First of all, "We are altogether not as rich as it appears"; in the second place, this empirically established truth, necessitates that we who call the people to the social revolution must know and not forget that not only war but social revolution as well unavoidably and significantly raises consumption and lowers production; in the third place a country starting upon a course of social revolution must not depend upon the flow of products from other lands, since this country, as was shown by the Russian experience and now is shown by the Spanish revolution, will find itself surrounded by antagonistic capitalist countries. From these historically proven truths, result the following conclusion which is exceedingly important for all protagonists of the social revolution. It must be the basis of all their actions and must become the point of departure of their work on the "second day" of the revolution: "The social revolution, wherever it happens, will have to set itself from the very first days the task of raising the level of production."†

It is upon production that the entire attention of Anarchists must be centered on the "second day" of the revolution — on its proper and harmonious organization, in accordance with our fundamental views and ideals. In this respect the Spanish Anarchists have acted quite correctly but not resolutely enough.

### III The Interdependence of Production and Consumption.

And so the fundamental problem of the revolution is production. Does this mean that for the sake of production we must ignore all other questions advanced by the social revolution? Does this mean that we must make a fetish out of production and sacrifice all else to it as the Bolsheviks did?: "all for production"; i. e. neglect human life and human interests? Certainly not! Not man for production, but production for man. The Spanish Anarchists are now facing the dangers of the production fetish. War may lead them on this dangerous path.

From the general mass of problems we must single out the ones that are most important and essential, the ones upon the consolidation of which the revolution depends and, consequently, the freedom, welfare, and happiness of people. Insofar as we have explained that we are at present not sufficiently wealthy to live on our products for any more or less prolonged transitional period, insofar must we natur-

ally sacrifice, to a certain degree, our leisure and stress the element of production, and make the latter the central point of our efforts. Of course we must also bend every effort to see that consumption is also placed on a firm footing. The first step in the revolution, as Bakunin and Kropotkin pointed out — and their assertions were proven by the Russian experience and are now being borne out in Spain — is the concern about bread. **Organization of production is the problem of bread.** But in order to work and produce it is necessary to eat and consume. We must remember, therefore, that **production and consumption are two sides of the same medal — that they are inseparable, like economics and politics; one flows from the other, one serves as the impulse to the other.** A person has desires. In order to satisfy them he works and produces. The more he produces the greater are his wants. These wants grow, change and expand production. Without production, people of today cannot satisfy their desires. Just as economic emancipation leads inevitably to political freedom, so does production with the same inexorability cause the growth of desires and the means of their fulfillment. **Consumption and production are interdependent.** But just as we would consider it madness to renounce political freedom in a capitalistic regime, so would it be irrational to ignore the consumptional interests of the masses during the revolution, as it was and is being done by the Bolsheviks, who sacrifice the present generation to the alleged interests of the coming generation.... On the contrary, the first step in the revolution should be the expropriation of all the available means of consumption, and simultaneously with the organization of production — the organization of statistics and distribution. Of course, were we very wealthy, there would be no reason to hurry with the reorganization of production. We would reform it gradually and thus avoid the great sacrifices entailed by drastic changes. But we cannot afford such luxury. We are forced to concentrate on the immediate reorganization of production, this being the very basis of Libertarian Communism. Anarchist-Communism can be said to be a properly organized system of production, based upon statistical count.

Therefore, no matter how one looks at it, production is the most important problem not only of the revolution but of Anarchist-Communism. Production is the backbone of our new system just as it is of capitalist economy. From this follows the necessity for all participants in the social revolution, insofar as they are able to do so, to acquaint themselves with the technique of production, not only in its general form but in its particular branches since the necessary group of technicians and engineers — as was demonstrated in Russia and is now being shown in Spain — might sabotage the revolutionary economy.

In approaching the problem of the reorganization of production, we must bear in mind the experience of the Russian and present Spanish revolution. Inasmuch as the class interests of the highly skilled technical intelligentsia, even as refracted in the minds of its representatives, are nearer to those of the bourgeoisie, we must consider, as a rule, that no matter how numerous the technical intelligentsia may be in a country, the majority will actively and positively sabotage the new construction during a period of social revolution. This we must always bear in mind.

### ■ WHAT IS THE MEANING OF: "PROPERLY ORGANIZED PRODUCTION"

We are faced not only with the problem of building new enterprises, restoring the old ones and putting to work those



that have been temporarily paralysed; not only the problem of the most efficient utilization of machines, but a more difficult problem, a more complex one: to place production on a completely new level; to destroy old relationships generated by capitalist production; and to cultivate on the new basis more humane and equitable relationships, sharply distinguished from those of capitalism; to merge the producer and consumer in one and the same person so as to obtain a genuine unity of the interests of both; to organically fuse industry and agriculture, to integrate mental and manual labor. Only is this way will their interests actually coincide.

Capitalism bequeaths us an economy which was created not in the interests of the whole people but in the interests of private gain. When we come into this inheritance of the capitalist framework of production, we will have to shift the economic system of capitalism in accordance with the living needs of the population. Now, in large cities, far from the sources of raw materials, are concentrated hundreds of thousands of all possible enterprises. It will be necessary to reshuffle them in accordance with the economic map of the country, that is, to bring those enterprises closer to the sources of raw material and fuel and then to obtain a closer unity of industry and agriculture. And finally it

is necessary to organize a new administration on a completely new foundation, in harmony with our fundamental principle of freedom and self-government. All these difficulties and thousands of others will have to be overcome, since it is upon the overcoming of the latter that depends the success of the Anarchist social revolution, the triumph of our economic and political ideas, Anarchist-Communism.

The experience of the Russian Revolution which started upon this grand course of reconstruction demonstrates with convincing clarity all those difficulties; the Spanish experience confirms those difficulties. But the Russian experience enables us to take account of its errors and to lay down the necessary premises without which the work of reconstruction is destined to failure; secondly, it enables us to make clear to ourselves the causes hindering this work of reconstruction inevitably arising in the process of development of social revolution wherever it takes place.

(This is the concluding part of the article begun in the last issue of Vanguard. A more detailed treatment of this subject by Comrade Maximoff will be presented in future issues — The Editors.)

†Kropotkin's "Words of a Rebel," Petrograd - Moscow, 1921, published by Golos Truda.

## Calendar of Counter-Revolution

(Continued from Page Two)

Madrid front thus preventing the offensive which might have relieved the fall of Bilbao. Offensive came month too late.

May 26th: Generality of Barcelona repudiates legality of collectivization decrees of Oct. 24, 1936.

May 28th: *La Batalla* suppressed — also P.O.U.M. radio in Barcelona. "Friends of Durruti" headquarters seized and the organization driven underground. Last of workers patrols liquidated.

June 29th: Attempt at solution of Catalonian Generality crisis balked by insistence of Stalinists upon making the well-known reactionary and anti-libertarian, Dr. Gimpera, minister without portfolio. New Cabinet finally formed in which C.N.T. and U.G.T. are eliminated. Only political parties represented. Things worked exactly according to instructions of "Confidential Political Information" sent out by central committee of P.S.U.C.: "In this government the C.N.T. will be offered participation, only this offer will be made in such a manner that the C.N.T. will see itself compelled to refuse collaboration."

July: Eight hundred C.N.T. members imprisoned by Stalinist police. Sixty C.N.T. members have "disappeared" (in other words have been assassinated).

August 9th: *Mundo Obrero*, Stalinist daily, openly and bitterly denounces the working class unity achieved by C.N.T. and U.G.T. in the unity pact they had just signed.

Since May: Property rights of factory collectives blocked by Generality refusing to recognize their right to sell their produce.

All radio stations run by workers' organizations confiscated.

Popular tribunals liquidated and creation by decree of a Special Tribunal with jurisdiction in all national territory to investigate and punish all offenses.

Munitions industries militarized and drive started to militarize transport industries. Drive to "municipalize" (or give over to the local governments) all industries held by the workers of the C.N.T.

Drive to take over Aragon and Catalonia regions under military dictatorship.

Decrees passed for "municipalization" of city dwellings now

in hands of C.N.T. and U.G.T.

Stringent sedition law put into effect with long list of acts that will be considered as espionage. The decree was issued on the same day that the Government started a wholesale arrest of Anarchists.

It concludes: "Attempted or frustrated offenses, conspiracies and plans, as well as complicity in sheltering of persons subject to this decree may be punished in the same way as if the offenses had actually been committed. Whoever, being guilty of such offenses, (complicity, sheltering, etc.) denounces them to the authorities, shall be free of all punishment. Death sentences may be imposed without formal knowledge of the Cabinet."

The authorship of this document is unmistakable if one compares it with similar Soviet decrees. Note the "confession clause;" immediate death sentence for "militarized persons;" people "planning" acts are punishable as though they had committed the acts, etc.

The C.P. is now carrying on a campaign to make the decree cover journalists as well, so that a writer may be hung for disseminating news deemed "harmful" to the republic.

The decree was obviously designed to facilitate repression of the Anarchists and P.O.U.M.ists who could not be punished legally under the former sedition laws.

After a perusal of the few salient facts that we have chosen from a mass of similar material can anyone deny that the counter-revolution is marching on with the usual single-mindedness of Stalin's foreign emissaries?

It is reasonable to assume that one day soon a spark from the C.P. anvil will ignite the powder keg represented by the Spanish people... If Nin's death accomplishes this purpose he has died a better death than most.

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### AS WE GO TO PRESS

A Barcelona dispatch informs us that Russian and German Stalinist police in Spain, doing yeoman service for the Soviet Government and Nazi Germany, have imprisoned many anti-Fascist volunteers. The foreign section of the C.N.T. received a letter (dated July 24th) from a Valencia prison informing them of the incarceration of more than 150 foreign revolutionists on the charge of illegally entering Spain. These prisoners, mostly Anarchists are political refugees from the Soviet and Germany, who smuggled their way into Spain to be in the front lines of the anti-fascist fight. They are faced with certain death if deported.



# Democracy in the CIO

By SAM WEINER

LET us examine the internal structure and functioning of the CIO unions. The strikes in General Motors were initiated by the action of the workers in the shops. A wave of sit-down strikes enveloped the entire industry and the leaders of the automobile affiliate of the CIO were compelled to move forward because of the enormous pressure of the spontaneous mass movement. After a period of intense struggle, the strike was settled. The union officials sat down with the high Moguls of the Auto Trust and presto! the strike was settled. The contract is signed and now for the messy business of convincing the strikers that they must go back to work. In Flint, Cleveland, Detroit and other places the workers refused to get out but they were threatened and cajoled into giving up their strategic positions.

The same can be said of the Chrysler strike. The workers are not consulted. "Their's not to reason why, their's but to do and die." Eventually, the workers find out, as they did in the auto strike, that the settlement was not worth the paper it was written on unless they enforced it by striking on the job. General Motors puts the union officials on the carpet for not fulfilling the contract which explicitly bans "unauthorized strikes." The leaders immediately take drastic steps to ban all strikes by severely punishing the "offenders". All the company has to do is to notify the union that no new contract will be forthcoming if the union will not "control" its members.

Mr. Lewis meets Mr. Grace of U.S. Steel, they talk things over, a contract is signed, based on the obligation of the union to keep its members in line. An "achievement in industrial statemanship" is consummated. But where do the workers come in? Were they consulted? Of course not.

Do some of our "progressive" elements stop praising Lewis long enough to ask if the workers decided how much the dues should be, or where the millions of dollars in dues goes? It is known that Lewis and his henchmen take care of that as they see fit. In most cases they appropriate fifty percent of the dues for the national organization. As far as the officers, organizers, and business agents are concerned, they are appointed by the machine. Now, Lewis declares that all that is necessary is to get the companies to accept the "check-off" system and then there will be no basic difference between the CIO and the U.M.W.A.

The calling and settlement of all strikes, the issuance of charters, the control of funds, the selection of officials, etc., is controlled by the Lewis' machine. In all matters he is the court of last appeal.

The CIO throws solidarity overboard. Thus we see the Steel Workers Organizing Committee refusing to call a general strike of all steel workers including U.S. Steel, so that the "Independents" in the steel industry could be brought to terms. Lewis talked it over with the heads of U.S. Steel. The contract is sacred, so U.S. Steel fills the orders of its secret affiliates. U.S. Steel shows solidarity with the Inland, Youngstown, Bethlehem and Republic Steel Corporations.

At present the CIO is engaged in forming what is known as the "unity of the workers." One of the aspects of this unity is to unite all the workers in national "Industrial Unions," to swallow all existent unions. While the formation of such unions is a necessity, it will never be of any constructive value if it will be done as the CIO is doing it.

The CIO assisted by the stooges of the Communist Party, Messrs. Curran and Bridges, called a convention in New York to organize the National Maritime Union (N.M.U.). According to the proposed constitution all power rests in

the hands of the National Executive Council, while the district committees are responsible to and controlled by this council. If one of the members of the district committee is not present at a meeting of any of the locals, the meeting is declared illegal. Any decision made by any part of the proposed union can be declared null and void by the executive council.

When the west coast unions, The Maritime Federation of the Pacific (M.F.P.) refused to join the N.M.U., Bridges was appointed by Lewis to get the west coast seamen into the CIO despite the fact that the M.F.P. is the strongest union in the west.

The following excerpts from *West Coast Sailors* (July 30th) official organ of the Sailors Union of the Pacific (S.U.P.), the oldest union on the pacific coast, gives a clear explanation of the basic issues involved. With its conclusions we heartily agree.

"Thru our own efforts we have increased the wages of seamen 100% over and above the standard preceding the year 1934. For the first time in the history of the merchant marine, thru our united efforts, we have succeeded in forcing the U.S. Government to act to safeguard the lives of seamen and improve the standards of quarters, sanitary conditions and the quality and quantity of foods on all ships under our jurisdiction. Through the West Coast seamen's own untiring and intelligent work it is now common knowledge that we have even forced the shipowners themselves to admit that the seafaring unions are right in their contentions.

"It is our opinion that we jeopardize the gains made by our unions by advocating joining the CIO when we failed to agree with the system of appointing their committees instead of democratically electing them as per our own constitutions. Their proposed constitution is far worse than the amended constitution which the I.S.U. fakers put over at the 1936 convention. They have failed to provide for true rank and file elections. They entirely disregard the interests of the workers in depriving them of the right to vote whether they want to strike or not; and take away their right to have a voice in the making of any agreements that may be for their benefit.

"To join the CIO at this time would mean we would receive a CIO charter through the N.M.U. and under that set-up we would lose all our fundamental rights to bargain and sign agreements for the intercoastal boats. Further we do not approve of the system of having to transfer fifty percent of our income from dues, assessments, etc., to any national set-up.

"The July 7th set-up, 5-point program, etc., of the CIO regarding the maritime industry, is identical to the agreement signed by the CIO when it organized the Textile Organizing Committee. The Textile agreement provides that the Textile committee proper shall be permitted to have two members on the CIO Textile Organizing Committee, and the Chairman of the CIO, John L. Lewis, appoints the balance, and may appoint as many as he sees fit. The committee thus set up is to take charge of all outstanding and existing contracts; all initiation fees and dues must be turned over to the "organizing committee," and the Textile Unions are to turn over their funds to the CIO. All this is done by the "organizing committee" appointed by Lewis and clothed with absolute dictatorial power.

"Further we will be forced to sit at this convention and be bound by the acts and decisions of Deal and the present

(Continued on Back Cover)



# Social Classes in France

By JUMIN

The following article was written specially for the *Vanguard* by Comrade Jumin, secretary of the Anarchist-Communist Youth of France (Jeunesse Anarchiste-Communiste). The activities of the libertarian youth movement in France (consisting of several score branches throughout the country) among the students, in the trade-unions and many other fields will be treated in another article in next month's *Vanguard*.

Comrade Jumin's analysis of the class forces in the late Blum government gives an excellent background for an understanding of the fall of Blum and the nature of the Chautemps set-up. The reassertion of the militancy of the workers as exemplified by the recent "outlaw" strike of the hotel workers and the growing reaction of the government (which used the Gardes Mobiles in an attempt to crush the strike) and the political parties (the C. P. of France sent its members to the strike areas demanding that the strikers "obey the law") are evident today.

WHEN the French elections in the spring of 1936 brought the "anti-fascist" bloc to power, the French masses were under the sway of a number of illusions. The people voted for their own interests. They placed hope in a unity until then unknown in France. It was a unity of the Radical-Socialist, Socialist, and Communist parties. But the masses, inasmuch as they were workers, neglected the fundamental point: this unity was not based, of course, on any revolutionary objectives. The French Communist Party taking its order from the Communist International had definitely turned aside from its ultra-leftism to fall immediately into the vilest of reformism. It utilized the "struggle against fascism" — in effect, a French Government with a fascist tendency would have been more detrimental to Russian diplomacy which sought a French military alliance — to proclaim the defense of bourgeois democracy which for the time being would alone be capable of taking account of the workers' aspirations. Thus the Socialist Party became no longer an obstacle to unity and the Radical-Socialist Party, very favorable to a Franco-Russian alliance, knew that it would yet gain a victory on the parliamentary plane.

But immediately after the electoral victory a phenomenon, little expected by the three parties, occurred. The workers and the small employers, taking to the letter the electoral program of their political parties, felt instinctively that they should act. The strikes of June 1936 (it is on this occasion that the "strike on the job" showed its effectiveness) was a vast popular movement which demonstrated once more the power of direct action. The political parties limped behind the demands of the strikers and the employers were speedily overpowered. They had to give in. Salaries were increased. Later on the strikes became less frequent and less violent and were checked by the left parties. The bourgeoisie then raised its head.

Inevitably, the economic machinery of capitalism entered into play. The cost of living increased from day to day. The Blum government decided in favor of devaluation at the expense of the workers.

That is not all. Everything that had been promised on the electoral posters was solemnly avoided. The workers expected a battle against the Trusts and High Finance. But Blum couldn't even do as well as Roosevelt. The nationalization of the arms factories was awaited. The Chamber voted the project but it remained on paper. Perhaps the French Government would take a favorable stand towards the Spanish Government when the latter became a prey to

fascist rebellion? However, it was Blum who advanced the idea of the blockade which is responsible for the fact that the insurrection of Franco has been able to take on the character of a real civil war.

French capitalism and imperialism had only one road to take, namely, the road summarized in two planks: the fight against the workers and preparation for war. (In France, the parties of the left found a new formula: "Crusade of the Democracies Against Fascism").

These are the problems which are posed before the social classes of France. How are they going to react?

High Finance, the Banks, the Trusts, which in June 1936 trembled before the fighting spirit of the strikers, have been reassured. It is, indeed, they, who, have given the "coup de grace" to Blum. It is they, who, as in the past, make the French government an instrument of their interests. Having made good the Loan for National Defense, through the grant of Credits to the Treasury, they can now control parliament. The partial economic uplift favors them and the only force which they fear is the laboring masses and their demands. Their task will be to prevent a return of the popular will. And they will not hesitate, when the situation becomes ripe for it, to support a fascist coup d'etat.

The medium employer and the small shopkeeper have suffered from the Blum experience, and one can be sure that they will do all in their power to obtain amendments to the social laws. The accentuated concentration of capital places them, moreover, in a worse and worse position and one can ask to which side the middle class will turn: to the workers or fascists? Already, clever theoreticians are befuddling them with noisy publicity. There is a certain Duboin who pretends to re-edit Marx on a modern basis, being inspired by some of the modern critics and despoiling Marx of all revolutionary content. Duboin proclaims the liberation of man through science (it is a sort of technocracy) and he succeeds by these demagogic devices in gaining the sympathy of the middle class. Besides, there exists in France a new "Social Front" (Bergery and Delaisi) who promise well-being through the suppression of Trusts. Many of the theories which, indeed, welcomed by the bourgeois spirit, prepare them psychologically for the fascist ideology. If among the French middle classes fascism is as yet unpopular, it is because they are well informed on what is happening in Italy and Germany.

The industrial proletariat comprises the majority of the French population. With the long standing revolutionary traditions that it has, the French proletariat is quite capable of starting another revolution as soon as it sees the need for it. Now, the Popular Front victory, accompanied by spontaneous strikes, seemed to them a class victory achieved by traversing the easiest road. Step by step the French masses will understand that the capitalist system, by its very nature, must yield to its own class interests. And then they will leave the political parties whom, even now, they are beginning to regard critically. Although they still support the Communist and Socialist parties their class situation and the coming war will inevitably oblige them to leave their reformism and their parliamentarianism. Moreover, the workers will be more susceptible to revolutionary demands when the critical period arrives, for, the great numbers belong to the C.G.T., in which trade-union the revolutionary elements are working. The revolutionary crisis cannot be long in coming to France — and when it does the outcome will be determined by the strength of each side.



# Anarcho-Syndicalism and Anarchism

By PIERRE BESNARD

(Pierre Besnard, secretary of the International Workingmen's Association (I.W.M.A.), prepared this statement for the International Anarchist Congress which was to have been held in Barcelona, but has now been postponed. The statement was reprinted as a pamphlet with a preface by Comrade Shapiro. We are reprinting a detailed summary of Comrade Besnard's analysis of the respective roles of Anarcho-Syndicalist unions and Anarchist organizations. — The Editors.)

WHEN, in 1917, on the eve of the October Revolution, the Russian Anarchists first raised the banners of Anarcho-Syndicalism, the general Anarchist-Communist movement received the idea very coldly, and there was, in fact, hostility to this new libertarian development.

Anarcho-Syndicalism is not a complete philosophy in itself, but rather a combination of a definite doctrine and an equally definite body of labor union principles and tactics. Revolutionary Syndicalism, as we knew it in France before the war, was created, so to speak, and developed by militant Anarchists, such as Pelloutier, Griffuelhes and Pouget. But from the very beginning its chief propagandists wished to shield the movement from any political ideology or philosophy. Witness the terms of the "Charte D'Amlens."

But a class struggle movement can only have positive value if it is constructive in its aspirations. Thus it became necessary to complement its minimum program of partial demands for the present with a constructive program of economic and social life of the future. Anarcho-Syndicalism was born of this necessity.

The World War swept away the "pact" of trade union "neutrality". The schism between the followers of Marx and Bakunin in the First International had its echo in the historically inevitable split of the post-war international working class movement.

Against the policy of enslaving a working class movement to the exigencies of a political party, there arose a new movement based on the direct action of the masses, outside of, and opposed to all political parties. Anarcho-Syndicalism was the realization of the only union between forces and elements capable of guaranteeing to the working class and peasants their complete independence and their rights to revolutionary initiative in all phases of a merciless struggle against capitalism, against the state, for the reconstruction of a new libertarian society on the ruins of a decaying system.

Anarcho-Syndicalism thus completes Anarchist-Communism and puts an end to a tremendous gap which paralyzed all its propaganda: its detachment from the masses of workers. In order to lend such a movement libertarian conceptions, and give it the possibility of concrete realization, it was necessary to organize unions and establish syndicalism on a libertarian and anti-state basis; it was equally necessary that each Anarchist-Communist become an active Anarcho-Syndicalist. Thus organized in his federation, as well, the Anarchist becomes the fountain-head of constructive activity, ever on guard against dangerous compromises.

But it does not mean that Anarcho-Syndicalism, which today represents the Revolutionary Syndicalist movement of direct action and libertarian reconstruction, should in imitation of the rest of the working class movements, tie itself behind an organized federation, national and international. The error would be as irrevocably fatal as it has been for the reformist and authoritarian trade union movement.

The Anarchist Federation supports the Anarcho-Syndical-

ist Confederation in its struggles and in its revolutionary reconstruction. It does not take upon itself the initiative and control. An Anarchist International can only, on an international scale, be the reflection of its constituent Anarchist Federations. It will be a bulwark of the I.W.M.A., but should never become its Commander-in-Chief.

Such are the problems which Anarcho-Syndicalism places before the Anarchist movement, and which Pierre Besnard treats in his report. Their logical solution depends only upon a real understanding of the past, the present and the changes which the morrow will bring.

May 30, 1937

A. SHAPIRO

REVOLUTIONARY Anarchism is a movement whose aims are the formation of a society from which the state, government and authority will be excluded. Man is unquestionably the basis of such a society. Anarchism is thus an affirmation of a progressive social demand, of the past and of the future. It supposes the building of an economic administration and social structure. I am sure that this congress will not fail to reevaluate this structure in all its main features.

## ■ WHAT IS ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

Anarcho-Syndicalism is an organic and organized movement. It takes its doctrine from Anarchism and its form of organization from Revolutionary Syndicalism. It is the current expression of Anarchism in the economic and social field, and is the main agency, as shown in Spain today, of revolutionary activity. Its principles and policies were stated by the I.W.M.A. Congress in 1922 and by succeeding congresses, and by its militants in their writings. The C.N.T. in Spain represents the Anarcho-Syndicalism of the I.W.M.A.

Anarcho-Syndicalism represents the organic expression which Anarchism takes in its fight against capitalism. By the substitution of the concept of class unions for that of party, Anarcho-Syndicalism becomes a necessity for the workers who are obliged to defend their conditions and prepare their economic and social emancipation. The daily struggles of the workers are merged with their higher aspirations. And like all truly social doctrines and sciences, it is essentially experimental. Thus, it is in fundamental opposition to political and reformist syndicalism.

We can see logically that, growing out of common interests and identical aims, the two doctrines are in complete agreement.

## ■ HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

What does experience, particularly that of the modern world, teach us?

1) That people are being more and more united in their own class by virtue of their common interests.

2) The classes attempt to improve their relative positions, by some solution to the contradictions in today's society — the capitalists, by the establishment of state capitalism and fascism, the workers, by the abolition of the wage system, expropriation and establishment of Libertarian Communism.

3) The workers have tried, like their adversaries, — after them, unfortunately — to realize the union of their forces because they have finally understood that the decisive battle demanded organization, coordination, direction and mass action.

4) The era of political revolutions is over; the hour of social revolution has come. Each party or group, not specifically working class, cannot by virtue of the opposition of interest in its heterogeneous composition, be a trusted fighting unit of the revolution.



5) The only real class group capable, by virtue of its numbers, power and means, of destroying capitalism and realizing Libertarian Communism is the syndicate (labor union). It is that group which already has organized its manual and scientific forces and can furnish to the Libertarian Communist society the solid economic base indispensable to the new order that will arise after the revolution.

## ■ REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM HAVE SAME GOAL

The principles of the I.W.M.A. were evolved from the above considerations, and all the Anarcho-Syndicalists are in agreement with it. The C.N.T. together with the F.A.I. are at this moment in the process of achieving it.

This conception does not at all imply that Anarcho-Syndicalism — anti-state and federalistic, let us not forget — intends to be or claims to be **everything**, and that no other social organism has a right to exist beside it. Anarcho-Syndicalism holds, on the contrary, that man is not satisfied merely with producing. They admit that man has a right to other aspirations, higher ones — the right to participate in all domains in which he has the ability, in all administrative and social organizations covering all of life that will function under the constant, direct, vigilant control of everyone.

It admits that men have the right to administer their own lives and it desires that communes federate themselves locally, nationally and internationally just as the syndicates do. It is convinced that this is indispensable and is prepared to unite its efforts, of the syndicates with those of individuals and communes, to realize the true Libertarian Communism which is the real work of Anarchism.

Thus the goal, Libertarian Communism, is common to both Anarcho-Syndicalism and Anarchist-Communism. It is clear, then, that the place for all workers, for all exploited, is in the Anarcho-Syndicalist unions. It is only by action that Anarchists will find again unity of thought, that the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement will recover its strength, and finally all Anarchists will be able to consider the social revolution on the order of the day and its realization possible.

## ■ THE ROLE OF THE ANARCHIST GROUPS AND THE SYNDICATES

We are now led to consider the respective role of the Anarchist groups and the trade unions.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists admit that the Anarchist groups are more flexible than the unions are; that they can more readily comb the masses for good workers whom they can shape into militants. These militants propagandize, and thus attract the workers, until now duped by all political parties, to their own federations and consequently to the syndicalist trade union. This task is purely ideological; its need, however, is incontestable and that is the function of the Anarchist-Communists, on condition that they identify themselves with the work of the unions. But I wish to state definitely that responsibility for decision, for action and control, must belong to the syndicates, the agency for the realization of the revolution. I also declare that it is incumbent upon these syndicates to prepare the tasks, the economic plans, both offensive and defensive. Finally, I believe that the economic administration and social system must be homogeneous, harmonious, that if the base of this system is to be realistic, solid and durable, it can only be economic.

I claim as a right for the syndicates the accomplishing of the economic tasks, revolutionary and post-revolutionary, because the organization of production is the true function of the workers. On the other hand, it is logical that the communes, administrative organs with their technical and social services, have the task of distribution; of interpreting the desires of men in the social field; of organizing life in all its forms. The Anarchist groups have henceforth the duty

of preparing for these revolutionary realizations. The work of each organization is clear and separate.

In conclusion, I affirm:

1. That the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement cannot deviate from its path owing to the strict control that is exercised on the organization and its militants.

2. That the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement exhausts the means of realizing Libertarian Communism in the actual working out of the task; that it belongs to the Anarchist-Communist groups to carry the propaganda as far as possible in the exclusively ideological field.

3. That the Anarchist-Communist movement must interest itself chiefly in the tasks of propaganda, of study and mass education.

4. That the best permanent contact which can be realized will be, as it is in Spain, the unrestricted adherence of all Anarchist-Communists, of all countries, to the Anarcho-Syndicalist unions, who are charged with the preparation and execution of the final action, and who alone are best fitted to lead it.

5. That Anarchist-Communism, the true form of socialism, arose as a result of a complete failure of all the political parties; that Anarcho-Syndicalism, the modern and active form of this movement, stems from Anarchism, fulfills all the constructive tasks of Anarchist-Communism and paves the way for Libertarian Communism; that the tasks of Anarchist-Communism — like those of Anarcho-Syndicalism — will be completed in the post-revolutionary period when human beings, by virtue of progress and the development of their intelligence, will be capable of achieving Libertarian Communism, the final goal of Anarchism.

... relations between anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism

It is obvious then that Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism must cooperate both in the national and international spheres. The I.W.M.A., moreover, has provided for this eventuality in its Constitutional Congress. These relationships should be based on the mutual independence and autonomy of both movements and remain on the basis of complete equality. Besides the interpenetration of the two movements through the actions of their respective militants, it is desirable for the Anarchist and Anarcho-Syndicalist organizations to establish contact in each locality, region and country. In order to be fruitful and lasting these relationships must be founded on a complete understanding of the respective task of the two movements.

But such relationships can be established only on two conditions:

- 1) Ideological unity among the Anarchists of each country.
- 2) Unification of the various Anarchist groups in each country on the basis of a revolutionary Anarchist policy.

## ■ GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

No matter how much this congress and the I.W.M.A. may desire to effect such relationships, they cannot do so unless these two conditions are fulfilled beforehand by the Anarchist movements in each country. It would have been infinitely preferable, and also in conformity with our accepted federalist principles, if this unity of doctrine and unification of Anarchist forces could have been achieved before the advent of this congress which is to give birth to the Anarchist International.

In the name of the Anarcho-Syndicalists who have achieved this two-fold aim by the formation of the present I.W.M.A. in 1922, I urge all our revolutionary Anarchist comrades immediately to take similar action.

It is necessary to break definitely with all so called democratic forces, political as well as trade union. They must affirm that Revolutionary Anarchism, its aims, its tactics and its doctrine, have nothing and can have nothing in common with those supposedly "democratic" elements who



are in all countries the best servants of capitalism. If, carrying this action to its logical conclusion, the Revolutionary Anarchist movement breaks completely with all authoritarian political parties, then it can together with the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement advance fearlessly towards their common goal: the revolutionary transformation of society by the establishment of Libertarian Communism.

## ENTRE NOUS

**E**VENTS throughout the world, particularly now in Spain, have resulted in reawakening libertarian forces everywhere. Here in the U.S., too, the Anarchists feel the stirring impact resulting from clashes in Europe. Moreover, the resurgence of labor in America has brought the libertarian movement to a realization that lack of unity in organization and basic doctrine were preventing the utilization of its forces for constructive tasks.

To fill the need for closer cooperation among groups and to make use of the possibilities for attracting an ever widening circle of workers who are disgusted with the opportunism of the Marxist organizations, an American Anarchist Federation was proposed and a provisional body recently set up through the efforts of a number of comrades in New York City.

In order that the above purposes may be achieved, it is of the utmost importance to outline the basic program which the provisional body must pursue. Incidentally, the name the provisional body "Anarchist Federation of America" is a misnomer since the body represents groups only in New York City as yet. One warning, however, must be voiced if we are to avoid the dangerous pitfalls into which the American Anarchist movement has fallen in the past. Anarchism must be translated into the everyday needs and desires of the American workers. It must be more than a mere reflection of foreign struggles, but must primarily touch the worker in his home and in his shop. Already the "A.F.A." has made an error of this nature and taken the path of least resistance, i.e., concentrated its activities on the Spanish events. This work is being taken care of by the United Libertarian Organizations (organized for that specific purpose) which publishes the bi-weekly "Spanish Revolution" and conducts its activities on behalf of the C.N.T.-I.A.I. To duplicate its activities is a great loss of money and energy, and diverts the "A.F.A." from the field in which it must concentrate its activities.

The program of activity of the "A.F.A." must be of the following basic character if it is to be an influence in the American working class movement:

1. It must proceed to the formation of new groups and the establishment of educational and propaganda centers. For this purpose the immediate training of speakers and organizers (from among the youth especially) is a prime necessity. It must be borne in mind that there cannot be a real federation without a sufficient number of English-language groups to federate. This task allows for no delay and must be taken up at once.
  2. The hammering out of a clear revolutionary trade union policy, and in line with such a policy a concentration and intensification of our work within the unions. Without such an orientation and work, all the other efforts of the "A.F.A." will prove barren.
  3. Literature must be issued touching upon the struggles of the American workers and pointing to a revolutionary solution of these problems.
  4. Utilization of all existing means of propaganda, speakers and press in the Libertarian Communist movement.
- Such a program can, if followed through, bring success.

To achieve it, the "A.F.A." will need a representative secretariat enjoying the confidence of all groups and capable of intelligent, energetic action. The formation of new groups, work already begun by the Vanguard Group, cannot wait. Sentiment for it exists. The real test of the "A.F.A." will be its ability to act and take advantage of the favorable conditions now existing for anarchist growth.

JACK WHITE

## More groups sponsor Vanguard

**S**EVERAL weeks ago we sent a letter to all groups cooperating with Vanguard suggesting that they join the list of Vanguard sponsors. The reason for this suggestion is that the magazine is actually the result of the combined efforts of all the groups financing, distributing and writing for it. We planned to include a list of sponsors in the masthead but are omitting it in this issue because we have not yet received responses from most of the groups. Any cooperating group which has not received such a letter is invited to let us know their wishes in this matter. If your group has not yet taken up this question we urge you to do so soon. Let us quote from the answer of one of our sponsoring groups, the Toronto Libertarian Group:

"We have at present no further criticism of your paper (I should have said our paper) to add to what we have sent in heretofore. The last number was indeed very good full of information and propaganda of the sort that is sadly needed..."

"The Toronto Libertarian Groups (in the plural) will be very glad to have their name included in the list of sponsors of the Vanguard. We speak for the Italian group, as well as for ourselves.

"We shall try to get more subscriptions in the near future. Sorry but we have no surplus numbers of the last copy.

"Fraternal Greetings

"D. G., Sec'y"

## C.N.T. appeals to workers of the world for solidarity

The enemies that destroy our homes and murder our people are the common enemies of the liberties and well-being of all mankind. Were they to succeed in Spain they would soon crush every popular movement in all parts of the world. It is, therefore, not only an act of solidarity, but an imperative necessity of self-preservation that should impel all workers to come to our aid.

It is because we are so sure that you yourself are threatened by Fascism — our common enemy — that we take the right to demand your immediate and unstinted cooperation and support.

Workers of the World, comrades, it is your bounden duty to come to our rescue. The Spanish people are in grave danger of being exterminated and their great civilization and culture destroyed. All other considerations are as naught compared with this elemental human obligation. Workers of the World, bet!ink yourselves, rouse yourselves from your lethargy. Organize demonstrations, meetings, strikes; proclaim as loud as you can to your Governments, to your organizations, that you will not tolerate the annihilation of an whole people. Workers of the World, we await your brotherly and immediate help.

**SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA**

Official Paper of the C.N.T., Barcelona, June, 1937



# SPAIN FACES THE FUTURE

## (Continued from Page Three)

artillery of all calibers, numerous tanks, hundreds of bombers sent by fascist powers... those 400 thousand of the fascist army must be opposed by an equal number of anti-fascist combatants. But how can such a formidable army be equipped with necessary arms? Our factories can produce only a limited number of arms, of tanks and airplanes which prior to the revolution were never manufactured in Spain.

"All that cannot be improvised. We lack machines and raw material necessary to manufacture all those arms. The only solution would be to obtain them abroad... Russia — perhaps acting in accord with France and England — offered arms. But this offer was not an unqualified one. The price which was to be paid was the halting of the forward course of the revolution... The other condition which had to be accepted was to tolerate the strengthening of the Communist Party in Spain..."

### ■ THERE ARE COMPROMISES AND COMPROMISES

There is hardly anyone who will not concede the strength of this argument insofar as it pleads the necessity of entering into some sort of a compromise with anti-revolutionary elements in order to prevent the possibility of a consolidated bloc against the revolution. Certainly, the anarchists of Spain could not cope with a united front of all capitalist and fascist countries. And it is the part of a wiser policy to make use of any rifts and dissensions among the imperialist powers in order to weaken the onslaught of the fascist enemy. If France and England could be bought off into some sort of a neutral attitude at the price of slowing down the tempo of the revolution, it was certainly worth while to hold out that bait before them while playing upon their rivalries with the fascist powers. If Russia was willing to extend military aid in exchange for some foothold in the life of the revolution, no one with any knowledge of the situation pointed out in the above mentioned article could censure the anarchist movement for trying to meet halfway the conditions laid down by the Russian government as the price of extending such aid.

### ■ COMPROMISE OR SURRENDER?

All that, however, has meaning only if the main strategic positions are kept in the hands of the revolutionists. Otherwise, a policy of concessions degenerates into abject surrender which reduces the problem to a choice between two forms of self-annihilation. Very important concessions had to be made to the enemies of the revolution in order to obtain arms for the militia and build up a powerful fighting army. But if the net result of this reorganization and reequipment is to hand over the army to those very enemies, all those concessions lose their original purpose and become a part of a general policy of capitulation leaving the anarchists with the very tenuous hope that perhaps one set of counter-revolutionists will not prove to be as deadly to the interests of the revolution as the other one. "The revolution," continues the same article, "had to choose between a certain and a probable death."

In reality, of course, the choice is not as wide as pointed out by this article. The probabilities of death in the second case are increasing so rapidly that one can speak of them as certainties provided the Spanish anarchist movement continues its policy of surrenders. The Soviet government, acting through its numerous agencies in Spain — the Communist Party is not its only agency — is as resolutely bent upon a policy of extermination of the revolutionary forces of Spain as any fascist power. It is forced to pursue a dif-

ferent tactic in that respect. It must necessarily follow a slower course, it cannot dislodge the anarchist movement from its rooted position by a single frontal attack. But it is resolutely set upon this course which assumes an ever accelerated momentum in measure that the anarchist movement yields its position. And judging by the rate at which this process of undermining the basic anarchist positions continues, we may say that we are not far off from the time when the question of choosing the lesser evil of the Communist counter-revolution will have as little sense as asking oneself the question: Which is the more preferable death, hanging or drowning?

Both forms of counter-revolution — the fascist and Communist — are equally devastating in their effect. The fascist counter-revolution may be more thoroughgoing in its work of physical annihilation, but the other carries with it a certain degree of moral corruption which in the long run may have an even more deadly effect upon the destinies of the Spanish revolution.

### ■ VICTORY BY WHOM AND FOR WHOM?

Nor can the Communist counter-revolution be given any preference on the ground that it cannot obtain its full triumph while the war is lasting. Once the war is brought to a successful end the forces of the revolution will reassert themselves with the same vigor as during its first period. "We will give up everything but victory" — proclaim now the leaders of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.! "We must absolutely destroy fascism," writes the author of the above quoted article, "in order to have the possibility of making the social revolution."

But if victory makes possible a social revolution, how can we expect that the counter-revolutionary forces will work toward such a victory? Either one of two courses will be pursued by the counter-revolution obtaining the commanding positions in this so-called anti-fascist struggle, as it already succeeded in doing: it will make use of its growing powers during the war in order to exterminate the revolutionary forces or, if this proves too difficult a task, it will render impossible this work of "absolute destruction of fascism." With the control of war operating in the hands of the bourgeois-Stalinist counter-revolution, this sabotaging of the victory over fascism is quite a simple task. And if this does not work well enough, there always remain the channels of underground diplomacy, kept open by the counter-revolutionary forces in order to prepare a shameful peace, some sort of a patched up understanding with the forces of Franco in order to keep the revolutionary forces in check.

This is much more than a mere possibility. The sabotaging of the Aragon front shows the length to which the Stalinist counter-revolution will go in order to keep the revolutionary forces from winning out. Nor are the negotiations conducted by Comorera, the leader of the Catalonian Communist Party, with Dencas, (Mussolini's agent and representative in Catalonian politics) with the view of creating a National Party of Peace, an isolated phenomenon. They are a part of a well calculated policy of holding the club of fascist invasion over the heads of the revolutionists in order to beat them into submission. That club is not going to be let down — not until the job of subduing the revolution is brought to an end. And this job will be done so well that even a smashing victory over fascism will not be sufficient to undo its effects. It will take more than a generation to overcome the work of physical extermination of the revolutionists which the Stalinist counter-revolution is already beginning and which it hopes to carry through while preparing for a smashing victory over fascism, for the "absolute destruction of fascism," which, according to our over-confident comrades, will unloose the powers of the social revolution.



## ■ WAS THERE ANY OTHER ALTERNATIVE?

But what could be done in face of the tragic situation pointed out by the writer of the above quoted article? Did the anarchists of Spain — that is the moving power of the Spanish revolution — have any other choice but that between the devil and the deep sea? If the only way of saving oneself from an inevitable defeat on the part of the fascists was to "go to Canossa," to assume a supplicant position before the power dispensing the life-bestowing armaments and military equipment, what else was there to do but to accept the conditions laid down by the latter? Beggars are not choosers. The revolutionary movement found itself in a position of a supplicant. How could it present demands, qualify its acceptance of aid by conditions of its own making?

The answer to this question is that, were it true that the Russian government laid down from the very first time it began to extend military aid the demand for the fullest capitulation of the anarchist movement, the latter movement could lose nothing by embarking upon the daring course recommended by the leading figures of the international anarchist movement and urged by the more extreme elements within the Spanish movement itself. It is not for us here to pass judgment upon the feasibility of this plan as such. It may and may not have been inspired by a sense of revolutionary romanticism, but even granted its hazardous nature, it certainly held out some hope, some chance of breaking through the impasse while the unconditioned acceptance of the alleged ultimatum presented by the Russian government closed all avenues to any possible victory of the revolution.

The true situation, however, was much more complex than the one presented now by those who try to rationalize the policy of accepting defeats pursued by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. The reconstructed past, in its simplified presentation, begins to assume the aspect of the present situation. The policy of the Russian government is now stark in counter-revolutionary outlines. But eight months ago it was more subdued, less outspoken, more subtle in its approach to the revolutionary forces. The Russian government could not and did not present ultimatums in the crude form in which they are laid down now. Guided less by a clearly conceived policy than by a counter-revolutionary instinct of its own (the Stalinist counter-revolution is groping but not clearly visualizing its way to victory) it set out upon its far-fetched plan of seizing control of the Spanish revolution by a series of extorted concessions everyone of which, taken in itself, presented a rather mild form of aggression, seemingly too small to be made an issue of in face of the continued military support. It was a subtle political game that the Soviet government played, realizing too well that revolutions, when they are at their high tide, cannot be bludgeoned into submission by crude ultimatums. There is a riotous, overflowing living power about a revolution that has reached this high-tide water mark. It may accept a too open challenge even in face of overwhelming odds. And that those odds are not the all-decisive factor the Kremlin representatives in Spain know too well from the history of the October revolution. These falsifiers of this revolution have not yet forgotten such elementary facts of its history as the almost universal expectation of the speedy fall of the Soviet power because of the overwhelming odds it had to contend with.

The problem of liquidating the Spanish revolution was approached by the Kremlin strategists in a much more subtle manner and it is in permitting itself to be outmanoeuvred by this subtle policy that the Spanish anarchist movement revealed its greatest weakness.

What was the nature of this political game and was it possible, under the stress of the tragic circumstances in which the anarchists found themselves from the very be-

ginning of the revolution, to match it with an equally subtle policy on the part of the revolutionists? Was there any possibility for an independent course of revolutionary action apart from the one of full assumption of power and responsibility as urged by the leading representatives of the international anarchist movement? And would the latter policy be as hopelessly defeatist in its immediate consequences as claimed now by those who try to justify a policy, the defeatist nature of which has become by now less a matter of political speculation than a direct observation of patent facts and unmistakable tendencies?

What was the nature of the bold revolutionary plan recommended by the leading representatives of the International Workingmen's Association (I.W.M.A.) at the very beginning of the revolution?

(To be continued in next month's Vanguard)

## COME INTO MY PARLOR...

THE campaign in Russia against "spys and imperialist dogs who are selling their country to the fascists" has reached tremendous proportions. New traitors are found everywhere. Suicides are vying with executions in number. Party militants are suddenly suspects.

Happy are those Bolshevik militants who are, by accident, in foreign countries. If, by some misfortune, one of them is recalled to Moscow, he prefers to remain among the bourgeoisie rather than return to a Soviet society where his life would hang by a thread, a very delicate one, indeed.

We have just learned that a very well known Communist has refused to return to Moscow. He is Willy Munzenberg, first secretary of the Communist Youth International, and until a few months ago a trusted agent of the Third International, and their general delegate in the Far East. In fact, there have been hints for some months of a rift between him and Moscow. Their difficulties could not be adjusted, the International insisted, except by a personal interview — in Moscow.

Munzenberg is clever enough to know that a Moscow visit would considerably shorten an existence which he finds after all, very interesting and agreeable. He thus refuses to comply with the order. The Third International which is afraid of its underlings, does not wish to break completely with its accredited — and discredited — representatives. Nevertheless, we learn that Munzenberg has "resigned" his position as head of the Communist Party of Germany. His successor is the ex-Reichstag member Walter Ulbricht.

Negotiations not having yet been broken with Moscow, Munzenberg still makes use of the columns of *Humanite* to "explain" the negotiations, without saying anything, and without replying to such simple questions as: "Will he or will he not go to Moscow?", "Has he left the C. P. of Germany?", "Has he left the German 'Popular Front'?"

We can expect, in any case, a series of sensational purges outside of the USSR.

For the moment, let us note that Walter Ulbricht who replaces Munzenberg as the executive of the CPG and who thus becomes the head of that party is the same Ulbricht who had considered necessary a union between the Communists and Nazis against the Weimar Constitution. It is with Goebbels that Ulbricht had organized in 1932 the Berlin Transport Strike directed by the Communists and the Nazis. Moreover, the German Communists now make a new face in raising the standard of patriotism. We are not astonished that by Moscow order a protagonist of Communist-Nazi coalition becomes their chief.

COMBAT SYNDICALISTE



# BREAD, WINE AND FREEDOM

By LISTON M. OAK

*BREAD AND WINE* by Ignazio Silone. Harper and Brothers; \$2.50.

In all the stream of proletarian novels turned out during the past several years, none is finer than this. *Bread and Wine*, like Silone's earlier novel, *Fontamara*, makes you feel that you have lived among the workers and peasants in Fascist Italy. It is worth hundreds of pamphlets and articles about how fascism works, how it affects the people under its totalitarian dictatorship.

It gives no dogmatic answers, but every anti-fascist, every revolutionist, should read it. And especially, for everyone who sympathizes with Stalinism it should be required reading. For it does not limit its scope to a vivid description of the degradation of man under Mussolini's tyranny, but raises the question of whether any dictatorship, even if it is proletarian and communist in name, will not inevitably degenerate into a new tyranny, a new bureaucracy, with consequent loss of the freedom and democracy that is just as precious as bread and wine.

Pietro Spina, unhappy in exile as a revolutionist, returns to Italy. He finds many of his former comrades serving in Mussolini's bureaucracy. They tell him "of the illusions, the disappointments, the wretchedness, the lies, the intrigues, the nausea," of their daily life as fascists. "We think that for the time being we must adapt ourselves, even humiliate ourselves... Even those who enjoy all the advantages of belonging to the government party have to live by intrigue, and are thoroughly nauseated by the dominant stupidity."

Spina finds his old teacher, Don Benedetto, a priest, far more admirable than those former Socialists, like the lawyer Zabaglione, who made his peace with the fascists, and although fascist propaganda was "sheer nonsense" to him, nevertheless made speeches at fascist meetings. At least the old priest still believed in fighting for "justice" and "truth"; he admired Spina's courage and integrity, and he denounced the "insincerity between man and man, the lack of faith, the Judas Iscariot spirit that poisons public and private life," the product of fascism.

The one weakness of this novel, in addition to its melodramatic ending, is the over-emphasis upon a reassertion of the indubitable fact that many Christians have proved to be more intransigent fighters against fascist tyranny than some revolutionists; and the identification of ideals of revolutionary liberty and justice and truth with primitive Christianity. John Haynes Holmes might praise this book for this tendency; a revolutionist, whether Anarchist or Marxist, can also praise the book for many other qualities. But the Stalinists will damn it completely. For Silone considers the Stalinist dictatorship a kind of red fascism. "I do not consider that term accurate, but certainly one must admit the similarity, both in Russia and in Spain, between fascist and Stalinist tactics, and even more than that, the fact that life is intolerable under either kind of dictatorship."

Spina meets a revolutionist working underground, Uliva, who has become cynical, and who tells him that the Italian workers "have become cowed, corrupted, intimidated, apathetic, regimented, and famished."

"There is something corpse-like even about the dictatorship that stifles us," Uliva says. "All it is is a bureaucracy. But what is the opposition? Another bureaucracy that aspires to totalitarian domination in its turn, in the name of different ideas and on behalf of different interests. If it does conquer, as it probably will, we shall thus pass from one

tyranny to another. We shall have a so-called economic revolution, thanks to which we shall have state bread, state shoes, state shirts and pants, state potatoes and peas, just as we now have state railways, state quinine, state salt, state matches and state tobacco. Will that be a technical advance? Certainly it will. But it will be the basis of an official, compulsory doctrine, a totalitarian orthodoxy which will use every means, from the cinema to terrorism, to extirpate heresy and tyrannize over individual thought. A Red inquisition will succeed the present inquisition, a Red censorship the present censorship. Instead of the present deportations there will be Red deportations, of which dissident revolutionaries will be the favorite victims. Our future bureaucracy will identify itself with Labor and Socialism and will persecute everyone who goes on thinking with his own head, denouncing him as a paid agent of the industrialists and the landlords."

All this might very well have been written as a description of what is actually happening now in Soviet Russia, although it was written before the recent wave of executions by the Stalinist bureaucracy of 600 old Bolsheviks occupying prominent positions in the Red Army, in Soviet industry and agriculture and the governmental apparatus.

"This is not your ideal, but it is your destiny," Uliva tells Spina. "You're afraid of the truth."

There are literally millions of good sincere revolutionists in the Comintern today who are "afraid of the truth," although they are terribly unhappy and suspect that Stalinism is leading to defeat and disaster in Spain, as in Germany, and that already Lenin's dream has become a nightmare in Russia.

"Every revolution, every single one, started as a movement for liberation and finished as a new tyranny," declares Uliva. Neither Uliva nor the author, Silone, has any solution. But we who still passionately believe in revolution must find one. One thing is perfectly clear — to prevent the proletarian revolution from becoming a new tyranny we must prevent the Stalinists from imposing upon us, as they now seek to do in Spain, their dictatorship of one party. Workers democracy must be preserved at all costs — otherwise the revolution is not worth fighting and dying for, and all of us, Anarchists and anti-Stalinist Marxists, will perish in concentration camps. We must struggle for workers democracy, for Libertarian Communism, for liberty, today in Spain, tomorrow in the United States.

But this gives scant indication of the beauty and dramatic power of this novel, its earthy humor, its compelling emotional sweep. Silone can create characters, he can tell a yarn, as few modern novelists can. I have recorded briefly the reactions of one revolutionist who is a Marxist and Leninist rather than an Anarchist; every revolutionist may react differently. But all except the Stalinists will agree that this is a powerful, troubled, rich, incisive, honest book, worth reading, worth thinking about, despite the fact that, or precisely because, it gives no final dogmatic answers.

*Fontamara* was dramatized as *Bitter Stream*; this novel offers far greater dramatic possibilities. It might make a really great motion picture.

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## COMING EVENTS

August 22nd, Mohegan, N.Y.: Picnic for the Spanish Revolution under U.L.O. Auspices.  
August 22nd, Toronto, Canada: Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting. See Toronto papers for details.  
August 23rd, New York: Sacco-Vanzetti mass meeting in Union Square under auspices of N.Y. Anarchist groups.  
August 28th, Mohegan, N.Y.: C.N.T.-F.A.I. film, "Madrid, the Tomb of Fascism" will be shown at the Mohegan Colony School. Showing begins at 9 P.M.  
August 29th, Yonkers, N.Y.: Picnic at Puffs Farm, Yonkers, under auspices of Cultura Proletaria groups.  
August 29th, Mohegan, N.Y.: U.L.O. Picnic for Spain on Colony House grounds.  
September 5th, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Eighteenth Annual Picnic under the auspices and for the benefit of **II Proletario** at Ulmer Park. Italian spaghetti, refreshments and all sorts of games. Admission 50 cents.  
September: Vanguard forums and study courses to begin again. Courses and Forums to be held at Vanguard Hall, 22 West 17th St., New York City.

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## DEMOCRACY IN THE C.I.O.

(Continued from Page Eight)

leadership of the N.M.U. We do not think the Firemen nor the Sailors wish to be under the domination of 1934, 1935, 1936-1937 finks. Approximately 4,000 finks which we chased off this coast since 1934, are now in the N.M.U. According to Brother Malone's report, sixty percent of the delegates now sitting in the N.M.U. convention in New York have scabbed at one time or another.

"We do not know exactly how the constitution proposed for the N.M.U. has been modified at the N.M.U. convention, but we do know that it was drawn up by two attorneys and a college professor. The thing we would like to bring out at this time is that on the West Coast we operate under constitutions that were drawn up by the rank and file themselves...

"We realize that any principled union man today is faced with a double fight, to help the unorganized to get organized, and to fight the fakers at the top of the labor movement who attempt to cash in on the inevitable industrial unionization of the basic industries.

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